

strike of Pacific Coast telephone operators, the threatened strike of packing house workers in Chicago and the street railway trouble in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The commission records at length its search for the "real cause" of the labor unrest and comes to these conclusions:

"The effective conduct of the war suffers needlessly, because of interruption of work, due to actual or threatened strikes. The loss of efficiency through the strike on the job, decrease in efficiency due to labor unrest, and dislocation of the labor supply.

"These are not new conditions in American industry, nor are their causes new. The conditions and their causes have long been familiar and long uncorrected. War has only served to intensify the causes, by increasing the demands upon industry and by affording the occasion for new disturbing factors.

"Among the causes of unrest, familiar to students of industry, the following stand out with special significance to the industrial needs of the war:

"Broadly speaking, American industry lacks a basis for a healthy relationship between management and men at the bottom, this is due to the insistence by employers upon individual dealings with their men. Direct dealings with employees are still the rule in the United States. In the majority of instances there is no joint dealing, and in too many instances employers are in active opposition to labor organizations.

"The failure to equalize the parties in adjustments of inevitable industrial conflicts is the central cause of our difficulties.

**Task for Leaders of Industry**

"There is a commendable spirit throughout the country to correct specific evils. The leaders in industry must go further and must help to correct the state of mind on the part of labor; they must aim for the release of normal feelings by enabling labor to take its place as a coöperator in the industrial enterprise, as a worker, not as a conscious attempt to be made to generate a new spirit in industry.

"Too many labor disturbances are due to the part of disinterested processes to which resort is made for peaceful settlement. Force becomes too ready an outlet. We need continuous administrative machinery which will give the industry a means of and not allowed to reach the pressure of explosion.

"There is a widespread lack of knowledge on the part of capital as to labor's feelings and needs, and on the part of labor as to problems of management. This is due primarily to a lack of collective negotiation as the normal process of industry. In fact, there is but little realization on the part of industry that the so-called labor problem demands not only occasional attention but continuous and systematic responsibility on the part of the technical or financial aspects of industry.

"Certain specific grievances, when long uncorrected, not only mark hardships; they serve as symbols of the attitude of employers, and thus affect the underlying spirit. Hours and wages are, of course, mostly in issue, but in whole or in part they are asked for mostly in order to meet the increased cost of living, and such demands should be met in the light of their economic causes. Again, the demand for shorter hours is a demand, not for the workers regard it as an expression of an accepted national policy.

**Cost of Copper Strikes**

The commission found that the strikes in the early summer of 1917 of the copper miners of Arizona resulted in a loss of 100,000,000 pounds of copper. Discussing the "occasions for such shocking dislocations of a basic industry," the report reveals that "were devoid of safeguards against strikes and, in fact, provocative of them." Distant ownership was a barrier to the understanding of human problems. Solidarity of interest among the owners checked the views of any liberal owner from prevailing against the autocratic policy of the majority.

"Resident managers failed to understand and reach the mind and heart of labor. There was no one whose sole interest was to deal with the problems of labor. The report comments: 'It has hardly begun to be realized that labor questions call for the same systematic attention and understanding as the technical and financial problems.' The commission found the labor turnover appallingly large and with consequent economic and social evils. It is, as stated, a major problem, and it is to be eliminated, 'a duty confronting both the industry and the government.'

"In one camp the commission found anti-labor rationalizations represented and in another thirty-two. The movement toward Americanization had hardly penetrated these outposts of industry, and next to nothing was done to affect the attitude of the laboring man toward American social life.

**Trades Union Movement**

The trades union movement is declared to have been the most promising unifying spirit among the workers. It was, however, impeded by the opposition of the companies, by difficulties due to racial diversities and internal dissensions.

The report says: "As is generally true of a community serving a single end, there was no common atmosphere of outsiders to the conflict. The entire community was embroiled. Such agencies of the public as the so-called loyalty agents, not only served to intensify bitterness and more unfortunately, to the minds of workers in the West served to associate all loyalty movements with partisan and anti-labor activities.

"Factors created by the war complicated labor difficulties. Particularly in the Globe district, doctrines of internationalism and the conviction that all wars are caused by economic causes, and led to resolutions of opposition to the war by the miners' local at the outbreak of the war.

"The strike, however, was the men that all wars are capitalistic, and therefore that ours must be such, was encouraged by the heavy profits of the war, and the resulting feeling from the European war before our entrance into it. The limitation of profiteering through price fixing and taxation had been only too recently accomplished to the satisfaction of other industrial operations or in the understanding of the workmen."

The commission declared that to such existing conditions and to the absence of the right to obtain industrial justice. They protested against industrial justice conducted upon an autocratic basis. They did not have representation in determining conditions affecting their lives as well as the company's output. The existing grievance committees were believed to be subject to company control. (2) The right to organize for equality of bargaining and protection against abuses. There was no demand for a closed shop. Security against discrimination directed at union members was demanded. (3) There were grievances as to wages, hours and working conditions, but these were of relatively minor importance, the chief conflict being the demand of the men to just treatment as their right and not enforced dependence on the benevolence or uncontrolled will of the employers.

The commission made four specific local adjustments. In asking labor for the war period to forego its ultimate objective, it recommended that the means of redressing grievances be supplied through the establishment of United States administrators to decide disputes.

**Grievance Committees Formed**

Channels of communication between management and men were created through grievance committees, which from company influence. The right of the men to organize was made effective by providing enforcement of the prohibition against discrimination because of union affiliation. Employers and strikers before employing newcomers was assured.

Administration under this settlement has proceeded for over two months with encouraging results, the report says, but adds: "Conditions are by no means fully normal; old feelings and old bitterness still smoulder, but new habits of mutual respect and cooperation between management and men are steadily being built."

The commission acted to prevent a strike in the oil fields of Southern California, which produce about one-third of the oil of the country. They demanded the eight-hour day, higher wages, improved conditions and protection against discrimination because of union membership.

The commission adopted the "last eight-hour day" principle. A minimum wage of \$4, effective December 1, 1917, was introduced. The company,

by their unyielding opposition to trade union organization, of their own making have created the opportunity for the I. W. W.

"This uncompromising attitude on the part of the employers has reaped for them an organization of destructive, rather than constructive, radicalism," says the report. "The I. W. W. is filling the vacuum created by the operation. The red card is carried by large numbers throughout the Pacific Northwest. Membership in the I. W. W. by no means implies belief in or understanding of its philosophy. To a majority of the members it is a bond of fellowship."

"According to the estimates of conservative students of the phenomenon, a very small percentage of the I. W. W. are really understanding followers of the subversive doctrine. The I. W. W. is seeking results by dramatizing evils and by romantic promises of relief. The hold of the I. W. W. is riveted instead of weakened by the opposition on the part of the employers to the correction of real grievances—an opposition based upon academic fear that granting just demands will lead to unjust demands."

"With specific grievances removed, destructive propaganda extensively preached in the Pacific Northwest will lose its strongest advocate. Continued efforts to improve the education will then have an easy opportunity to supplant fanatical doctrines."

The settlements of all the situations taken up previously have been reached. While the commission investigated the celebrated Mooney case in San Francisco and has recommended that President Wilson use his influence with the State Department to get Mooney a new trial, the case is not touched upon in the summary of the report made public here to-day. The commission's recommendation on that subject previously had been published.

**No Industrial Truce**

"Clearly, therefore, according to the highest authority on the labor side, there is no industrial truce. Each trade union is the judge of the principles which should prevail in its action. It is the duty of the government, as Mr. Gompers any positive policy in the existing crisis? He certainly has.

"What are the terms upon which his federation will cooperate in arming and equipping the nation, in building ships and cantonnments?"

"A few extracts from his recent writings—and these extracts could be extended indefinitely—make the whole thing plain.

"Cooperation of the workers can, with justice only, be asked when the government (organized labor) is recognized as a partner in the war. Each worker expresses their will. The government . . . must recognize and deal with the organized labor movement in all matters which concern labor. . . . It is the opportunity for labor, conscious of the dignity of its service, assured of the justice of its cause, to demand the right to participate as a distinct entity in national affairs.

"What government and employers recognize is that there is no dividing line between the organized workers and that our success in winning the war depends upon our ability to organize our men and women. The only practical policy is to increase the government's responsibility for dealing with the labor side and then give it an opportunity to make good. Labor is to be recognized as a partner in the war, and the government is to agree so that they can give service. The metal trades have offered to furnish the government with necessary workers for war contracts and to arbitrate differences without cessation of work.

"The fight for industrial freedom goes on even in war time. The only way to get the government to enable the workers to be free to do unreserved service is to protect them by recognizing and maintaining trade agreements not to discriminate against men who are members in any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Administrators were named for handling disputes. On this agreement the men showed readiness to produce oil for the Pacific coast in return for increase of wages and for recognition of their union. The men had not been increased since 1912. They demanded 25 per cent increase. The report says a false issue of loyalty was raised, particularly against the striking girls, and adds, 'Here, as elsewhere, the attempt of parties on one side of an economic controversy to appropriate patriotism and stigmatize the other side with disloyalty only served to intensify the bitterness of the struggle and to widen the force of unity in the country.'

**Dozen States Visited**

The President's mediation commission was appointed last September by President Wilson to investigate causes of labor unrest. The commission has been serving with Secretary Wilson since that time.

Vernor Reed, of Colorado, head and record as a successful conciliator miners' strikes at Leadville; Colonel J. L. Spangler, of Pennsylvania, retired labor operator; John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, and F. P. Marsh, president of the Washington State Labor Federation.

The commissioners visited a dozen states, went into their work in great detail, holding public and private hearings, at which state governors and other officials, workmen and industrial leaders told of activities by the Industrial Workers of the World and others which were hampering the government's war preparations.

Mr. Wilson and his conferees first visited the Southwest, where the opposition of the ranch owners, with a strike scene, and then swung around through the Pacific Coast States to look into the shipbuilding situation. They spent some time in Minnesota and other Northwestern states, investigating the connections of pacifist programs and aliens with the constantly recurring labor disturbances.

The mediation commission has been active in endeavoring to bring differences between the Chicago packers and their employers.

**Gompers Using War to Advance Union Labor, Writer Charges**

**Vast Campaign to Win the Closed Shop Being Waged Throughout the Country by American Federation, Burton Hendrick Declares**

in "World's Work" for February

Burton J. Hendrick in the course of an elaborate analysis of the present union labor situation under "The Leadership of Samuel Gompers" comes to the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor is engaged in a vast campaign to win the closed shop in this country under the pressure of war exigencies. How closely the labor program, as Mr. Hendrick sees it, ties with the recommendations of the Wilson's mediation commission is shown in his summing up, which follows:

**Movement Nationwide**

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Secretary of Labor Wilson coming on from Washington to sound the keynote, the great loyalty drive of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy will get under way to-night with a monster mass meeting at the Century Theatre.

For a week, in more than one hundred cities from coast to coast, the demonstration, which will engage Governors of states, representative labor leaders and public-spirited men from all walks of life, will sound its way to the working men of the United States.

"There is a special significance," said Robert Maisel, director of the alliance, last night, "in the appointment of a National Labor Loyalty Week just now, as well as a special need for it. The insidious pacifist elements in this country have never slackened their efforts. Lately the agitation arising from the publication of Russian peace formulae and efforts has given them fresh hope. Most of their appeals are addressed to workmen, and these poisonous preachings must be met and put down if the war is to be successfully prosecuted on its industrial side."

To Squeel Disloyalty

Mr. Maisel likewise mentioned the forthcoming pacifist conference, which has been announced to take place in this city on February 16, with the avowed purpose of sending peace delegates abroad.

"Last summer at Minneapolis," he said, "we quashed just such an effort. By beginning our loyalty meetings this week we intend to quash it again. The American workmen must take their stand, and the line be clearly drawn between loyalists and anti-patriots."

Besides Secretaries Baker and Wilson, Hugh Hagan, labor member of the War Board and Eastern representative of the American Federation of Labor, will speak and will read loyalty resolutions to be adopted by the meeting.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue, will preside at the gathering, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia; Otto H. Kahn, Francis B. Saypol, and three hundred other prominent men and women will be on the platform. Music will be furnished by the famous "band ship" band from the U. S. S. Recruit at Union Square.

**Menace of Pacifists To Be Answered by Democracy of Working Men**

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**Defence Society Aids U-Boat War Fails, Tirpitz to Blame, Says Reichstag Member**

LONDON, Feb. 9.—An article at tacking the submarine warfare, which was suppressed by the German censor scheduled to reach New York at 6 o'clock this evening. They will be met at the station by a delegation of labor and business men.

Dr. Struve is expected to speak on labor from the standpoint of the War Department, and Secretary Wilson to elaborate and explain the big labor programme now in process of launching from his department.

Circling the country, the drive will culminate in meetings at Cleveland and Milwaukee on February 17.

**"Unsinkable" Device May Be Reason for Confidence of Baker**

(By The Associated Press)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—Announcement by Vice-Chairman Saunders of the Naval Consulting Board that means had been found to make troop ships practically unsinkable lends new meaning to the air of confidence with which both American and British naval authorities are facing their task of clearing the seas of U-boats. Recent statements by Admiral Jellicoe, formerly First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty, by Secretary Daniels and other officials have indicated that a campaign has been mapped out and the instrumentalities developed which are expected to curb, if not to eliminate, the submarines entirely within the next few months.

Discussion of the devices developed is deplored by officials here. Investigations and experiments have been guarded closely. High officials have been free to assert privately, however, their belief that the U-boats would be checked sufficiently by early summer to insure a steady flow of American troops and supplies to Europe without a few incidents such as that of the Tuscania to be anticipated.

Secretary Baker has insisted before the Senate that 1,500,000 American troops would be taken to France and kept supplied during 1918. His replies to the questions as to where the tonnage for the task was to come from, his department had been with information at hand which he did not care to disclose.

Without disclosing any of the new implements that may have been developed to meet the submarine menace, navy officials have pointed out that all of the lines of effort started when the United States entered the war are now on the point of bearing fruit.

"To this end I beg our Fatherland, and will serve its future. There will arise from the seed of those hard years of our great military leaders and the inspired deeds of our army and navy, our great successes will be fully at our side, successes which will be historic in the world have been won."

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**Germany Takes Control of 4 American Firms**

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—According to the "Nordische Allgemeine Zeitung," four American firms have been placed under full government control. They are the Crucible Steel Company, America, the American Smelting and Refining Company, the American Shoe Stores and Stephen H. McFadden, agent for a number of manufacturers, including the Chesapeake Manufacturing Company and Colgate & Co.

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"To this end I beg the loyal cooperation of all who love our people and will serve its future. There will arise from the seed of those hard years of our great military leaders and the inspired deeds of our army and navy, our great successes will be fully at our side, successes which will be historic in the world have been won."

**Labor to Start Loyalty Drive Here To-night**

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Secretary of Labor Wilson coming on from Washington to sound the keynote, the great loyalty drive of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy will get under way to-night with a monster mass meeting at the Century Theatre.

For a week, in more than one hundred cities from coast to coast, the demonstration, which will engage Governors of states, representative labor leaders and public-spirited men from all walks of life, will sound its way to the working men of the United States.

"There is a special significance," said Robert Maisel, director of the alliance, last night, "in the appointment of a National Labor Loyalty Week just now, as well as a special need for it. The insidious pacifist elements in this country have never slackened their efforts. Lately the agitation arising from the publication of Russian peace formulae and efforts has given them fresh hope. Most of their appeals are addressed to workmen, and these poisonous preachings must be met and put down if the war is to be successfully prosecuted on its industrial side."

To Squeel Disloyalty

Mr. Maisel likewise mentioned the forthcoming pacifist conference, which has been announced to take place in this city on February 16, with the avowed purpose of sending peace delegates abroad.

"Last summer at Minneapolis," he said, "we quashed just such an effort. By beginning our loyalty meetings this week we intend to quash it again. The American workmen must take their stand, and the line be clearly drawn between loyalists and anti-patriots."

Besides Secretaries Baker and Wilson, Hugh Hagan, labor member of the War Board and Eastern representative of the American Federation of Labor, will speak and will read loyalty resolutions to be adopted by the meeting.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue, will preside at the gathering, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia; Otto H. Kahn, Francis B. Saypol, and three hundred other prominent men and women will be on the platform. Music will be furnished by the famous "band ship" band from the U. S. S. Recruit at Union Square.

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